

PHILADELPHIA STORY . . GOLDIE WATSON

THE *Nation*

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Britain and China

Is America Out of Step?

by Joan Robinson

The U. S. Belongs in the U. N.

by Anthony Broy

The Dilemma of the Scientist *J. Bronowski*

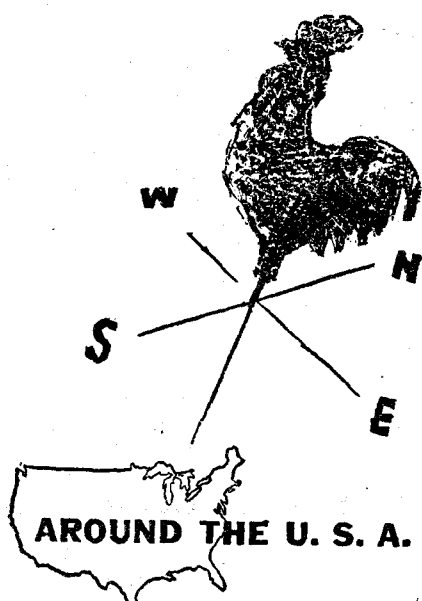
From a Writer's Notebook

Van Wyck Brooks

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

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Everyone from Everywhere

United Nations

LAKE SUCCESS and even Flushing Meadow seemed a long way from the center of New York to those of us who drove there and back every day from August, 1946, to January, 1950. But the public did not think so. Four hundred thousand people a year, on the average, found their way there to see the United Nations at work. They came by car, by train, or by subway and bus—single individuals, families with their children, small groups of friends. They looked and listened and went away impressed.

Casual sightseers formed only a fraction of the crowd. The hard core of the visitors was made up of members of such organizations as the League of Women Voters, Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, Women United for the United Nations, World Federalists, labor unions, and so on. There were also high-school and college classes, prize-winners in essay contests, teachers, foreign-affairs study groups, government officials, and military personnel, including classes from West Point and Annapolis. From all parts of the United States and from Canada, they converged on the United Nations.

One day is etched on the minds of everyone who worked at Lake Success, the day in early August, 1950, when Korea was the topic before the Security Council. (The representative of the Soviet Union had only recently returned

to the Council, after absenting himself for nearly eight months.) That day 4,200 people came to Lake Success, although only 520 could be seated in the Council chamber at one time. It was estimated that 20,000 people tried to make reservations.

After the move to First Avenue and Forty-Second Street, visitors were restricted until the General Assembly Building was completed in October, 1952. The guided tours were then inaugurated, together with a schedule of briefings for educational and other groups. Between October 20 and December 31, 54,400 persons paid for the tour. From July, 1953, to June 30, 1954, the tours were patronized by 723,750 individuals, and 3,148 separate groups—teachers, students, and members of various organizations—visited Headquarters. In that year also 64,506 individuals attended one or more of the three daily lectures on the United Nations given at Headquarters. More than two thousand requests for similar lectures were received during the same period and were filled by members of the Secretariat or of one or another of the delegations or by recommended persons outside. In a five-month period persons from eighty-three countries registered.

All visitors are welcome, for even if they just happen to be passing and stop in for a look they go away im-

pressed. But the organized groups which are studying the United Nations and regard their visit as part of a course are given special attention. Normally such a group writes in weeks or even months ahead. Having been assigned a date, it takes the tour of the building, attends meetings, and sits down in a conference room with some Secretariat official or national delegate to discuss topics in which it is particularly interested. These talks may last an hour or several hours and may be on the general work of the U. N. organization or on specific subjects, such as technical assistance, human rights, social activities, the children's fund, and so on.

Some groups plan to spend two or three days or longer at the U. N. For them a careful schedule must be worked out so as to give them as complete a view of the work as possible. Whether it is an American or a foreign group a time is set aside for the members to talk with their own delegation about their country's policy in the United Nations. Roughly one-fifth of student visitors are foreigners studying in the United States. We try to make them feel that the United Nations, though located in New York, is as much theirs as if it were in their own homeland.

WILLIAM AGAR

[William Agar is acting director of the Special Services Division of the United Nations.]

Letters

Enough of Mr. Dulles

Dear Sirs: An administrative officer who staunchly supports his subordinates is admired. However, when such loyalty is carried so far that the organization suffers, it ceases to be a virtue. Many citizens think this stage has been reached in the President's toleration of the Secretary of State.

Mr. Dulles has now manipulated our foreign affairs for half a dozen years. The veriest tyro can perceive the temper of our international relations at present—virtually all of Asia against us, most of Europe the same, all South and Central America calling us ugly names. Spain is about our only friend—Franco Spain! What irony!

Mr. Dulles was a great secretary when he could bluff, bully, or bribe, but it is evident that he has reached the end of his rope. People will stand bluffing for a

time, they can endure bullying by the military for a few years, and they can often be bought, but they rarely stay bought. Sooner or later they revolt.

At the end of World War II this nation was riding the crest of the wave. It should for many generations have been the most popular nation on earth. No one has contributed more to prevent this than Mr. Dulles. Should President Eisenhower not be looking for a new Secretary of State?

Yakima, Wash.

IRA D. CARDIFF

No Easy Solution

Dear Sirs: Milton L. Barron in his article *The Delinquent* (*The Nation*, June 5) cites the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation as advocating a "solution" for delinquency

(Continued on page 139)

The Shape of Things

Dubious Appointment

The Administration has finally chosen a successor to Gordon Clapp as chairman of T. V. A. The nominee, Brigadier General Herbert Davis Vogel, an expert in the science of water and soil conservation, is a career officer from the Corps of Engineers. The appointment is disturbing on two counts. In the first place, General Vogel is the fourth army engineer, the sixth military man, and at least the tenth person to have been reported "under serious consideration" for the post. Why were so many individuals reluctant to accept this important position? Or was it that their views on public power turned out to be unsatisfactory? Among those considered was Dr. Samuel B. Morris, manager of the Los Angeles Water and Power Department and past president of the American Public Power Association. Dr. Morris is a strong proponent of public power. Reached by telephone in Los Angeles, he told *The Nation* that he had "decided to remain" in his present position after a visit to the White House in June. General Vogel's views on public power are not known, but as the New York *Herald Tribune* has pointed out, "it is fair to assume" that he "sees eye to eye" with President Eisenhower on this issue.

More disturbing than the Administration's trouble in filling the vacancy is the fact that General Vogel comes from the Engineers' Corps. The army engineers have a long record of opposition to multi-purpose development projects and are notorious for the manner in which they have catered to local vested interests to obtain appropriations. More specifically, they have been antagonistic to T. V. A. since its inception. The Engineers prepared the initial survey and report on the Tennessee Valley and quite naturally assumed that they would construct and operate the project. But the report contained two inconsistent proposals and a set of evasive and opportunistic conclusions which could be reconciled with neither. Congress was not impressed, and the Engineers were denied jurisdiction over the authorized development.

Since then the Engineers have always been hostile to river-valley authorities, as the long feud over the Missouri Valley Authority eloquently attests. It would be

a miracle if an officer so thoroughly steeped in the tradition of the Corps of Engineers as General Vogel must be could feel enthusiastic about the purposes defined in the act creating the T. V. A. Apart from this basic consideration, General Vogel's performance as deputy governor in the Panama Canal Zone would suggest that, whatever his competence as an engineer, he is not a particularly inspired administrator. It is significant, too, that Senator John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky asked the White House to postpone General Vogel's nomination, which, so far as we can determine, he neither suggested nor approved. The Committee on Public Works, on which Senator Wayne Morse holds the deciding vote, should conduct a thorough investigation of this appointment.

The Hard Facts

This year's discussion at Arden House, reported on page 128, is one of several recent indications that certain hard facts have begun to be recognized through the fog of myth and unreality that has enveloped the discussion of American policy these last few years. The insistence, at this year's American Assembly meeting, that the United Nations should be the cornerstone of our foreign policy is not, as the *Wall Street Journal* characterized it, "one more pious theory"; it is the central assumption for workable American policy. On no other assumption can the power of the United States be applied with skill and tact and effectiveness in international affairs.

The opinion expressed at Arden that Washington's opposition to a seat in the U. N. for Communist China has been too rigid is another straw in the wind. In an editorial on July 24 *Business Week* must have chilled the stout heart of Senator Knowland by observing: "Geneva has shattered a number of American illusions, among them the idea that somehow Red China could be kept off the world diplomatic stage indefinitely. The fact is that Peking has forced its way onto that stage and it is probably there to stay. . . . Clearly Red China is no paper dragon that can be blown away with emotional steam or punctured with pinpricks." Other signs of a return to reality are not wanting. "No matter how many official denials are issued," writes a staff correspondent for the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* from Washington (July 25), "it remains the inescapable deduction

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from thinking at the highest level that one of these days, perhaps a year or so away, Red China will be admitted to the United Nations, either by the front door or by some back-door passage." Senator Knowland and the right wing may think they know where the balance of power rests in the Republican Party, but they do not seem to realize that this country's most intelligent men of influence can recognize hard facts when they see them.

Suez: Empire in Retreat

The Mediterranean is changing so rapidly and in such drastic ways that the whole balance of power—and thus the problem of security in the area—is itself in the process of being revolutionized. The final effects cannot even be guessed at yet, but one can be sure that every foreign office is reconsidering its policy in the light of those changes.

Britain's decision to turn over the Suez defenses to Egypt and withdraw its troops could not have been put off much longer. The alternative would have been a massive use of force to crush resistance and in effect to control the country; today such a policy would find no support in Britain. The misfortune is that the shift was not negotiated earlier, sparing much bloodshed and poisonous feeling. The fact that Egypt is a sovereign state made even more galling the existence of large military forces and vast installations under the command of a foreign state.

But the liquidation of British power in Egypt, good and necessary in itself, raises urgent questions as to what comes afterward. The government of Israel has strongly protested against the continued supply of arms to a hostile neighbor whose strength will in any case be enormously increased by acquisition of the Suez bases. Israel's anxiety must be even more acute than the diplomatic language of its leaders has revealed. By greatly increasing Egypt's prestige and relative power, the British-Egyptian agreement is likely also to upset the fragile equilibrium of the Arab world. The new situation calls for immediate, redoubled efforts to bring about peace between the Arab states and Israel and so provide a basis for stabilizing the area. Until that is done it would be the worst sort of folly to go on building up Egypt's armed strength. The exit of the British has not made Egypt an ally of the West, but it is still an enemy of Israel, technically and by its own profession.

Now Tunisia

The other important change, of course, arises from the action of Premier Mendès-France in Tunisia. By promising full internal autonomy to the Tunisians, while taking strong measures to restore order and punish terrorism. M. Mendès-France has opened the way to a negotiated

peace with North African nationalism inside the French Union.

The success of his move is still far from certain. It could be defeated by the extreme nationalists on both sides, French and Tunisian. But he was wise enough to win the support of the moderate wing of the Neo-Destour—the nationalist party—including its still-imprisoned chief, Habib Bourguiba, and to bring several of its leaders into the new Cabinet. As for his opponents in France and among the French settlers in Tunisia, they will do their worst to prove his action one of surrender to terror. But if he succeeds in checking disorders and gets the Tunisian government to provide specific guarantees for the settlers' rights, he will probably be able to outflank his domestic enemies. More advanced politically than the Moroccans and essentially friendly to France, the Tunisian nationalists have long tried to negotiate an agreement for independence without separation. On several occasions since 1945 liberal governments in France could have ended the trouble on terms as reasonable as those proposed by M. Mendès-France. That they failed was due chiefly to their fear of the political power exercised by the French *colons* over the National Assembly and colonial office.

No form of self-government for the Tunisians will be regarded as just by Frenchmen who have made their lives and livelihoods in Tunisia. But, like the British in Egypt, they will have to accept the end of colonialism. Mendès-France has ordained the beginning of the end. He knows that after Tunisia he must tackle Morocco, where the divisions are sharper, the terror far worse, and the past mistakes of the French more calamitous. He has deliberately chosen to preside over the liquidation of old-style French imperialism, and the changes he hopes to effect will alter the present power struggle in the Mediterranean quite as much as the withdrawal of the British from Suez.

The Conscience of the Country

MOTIVATED by fear and politics, cowardice and opportunism, the Senate has once again ducked its responsibilities by referring Senator Flanders's motion to censure McCarthy to a select committee. But the motion, it will be noted, was neither defeated nor tabled; action was simply deferred.

To nearly everyone's surprise, the arguments for some action on McCarthy grew stronger as the three-day debate progressed, thanks in large part to Senator Fulbright's timely specification of charges. At the outset it seemed all but certain that the motion would be tabled or defeated; that it was not is further evidence that McCarthy's strength is ebbing. The most remark-

able aspect of the debate was the reluctance of even the right-wing Senators to spring to Joe's defense. Senator Dirksen said he was "humble," and evoked guffaws from the galleries; Senator Welker said he was kind to children, and everyone smiled. Otherwise the silence was so oppressive that even McCarthy found it difficult to smirk.

His defense, moreover, was badly handled. Senator Wayne Morse surprised and dismayed the supporters of the Flanders motion by opposing it, along with Senator Guy Cordon, on procedural grounds. If a motion to table had been presented in the wake of these speeches, it would certainly have carried. But by the time the unctuous Dirksen concluded his oration, with its cheap smears and corny rhetoric, the tide had begun to turn. Had the Flanders motion been tabled or defeated, the opportunity to keep McCarthy on the defensive would have been lost until after the elections, regardless of how numerous or loud the protests might have been. Now there will be a new hearing, a report, another debate, and, eventually, or so it now seems, a roll-call vote—and each step in the procedure will produce more headlines. No matter how fast he runs or how far he jumps, the spotlight will be on McCarthy. And this time he cannot dictate the headlines.

VOTERS who agree with *The Nation* that the Flanders motion should be carried or that even stronger disciplinary action should be taken against McCarthy should join with others in strong public insistence that every candidate for the United States Senate in this year's crucial election make a public declaration on this issue. In New Jersey, Clifford Case, a Republican, has declared his opposition to McCarthy in the most forthright terms. In Kentucky another Republican, Senator John Sherman Cooper, who is in dire political trouble, has courageously spoken out against McCarthy. So have Democratic Senators Kefauver and Humphrey, both candidates for reelection. At the same time, letters and wires should go to Senator Lyndon Johnson urging him to resign as Democratic leader or cease acting as though he were a junior member of the firm of McCarthy, Knowland, Dirksen, and Nixon. Wires, too, should go to the chairmen of the Republican and Democratic National Committees demanding that both parties clarify their position on McCarthy.

After first seriously undercutting the Flanders motion by his badly timed indorsement of an avowed pro-McCarthy candidate in Illinois, the President voiced an "emotional" defense of General George C. Marshall a few days later and indicated that he might, after all, be forced to take a hand in the McCarthy row. He should be urged, without delay, to use his great influence and prestige to rally the conscience of the country, and thus of the Senate, against McCarthy.

August 14, 1954

Guatemala's "Strong Man"

by J. Alvarez del Vayo

COLONEL Castillo Armas needed no more than a month to prove that, apart from Ambassador Peurifoy and perhaps the Archbishop of Guatemala and the representative of the United Fruit Company, he had few dependable supporters. The whole propaganda tale of a country miraculously "liberated" from the claws of communism, which four weeks earlier had monopolized the headlines in the American press, fell to pieces when a handful of army cadets obliged the strong man to knuckle under and pledge the immediate disarming and disbanding of his "liberation" forces in the capital. That was the exact wording of the second point in the agreement concluded on August 2 between Castillo Armas and the rebellious cadets. The first point was a government guaranty that the young rebels would not be punished. The third was a promise by the regular army to accept the authority of the ruling junta—not a very impressive conquest for a Chief of State who is supposed to be also the commander-in-chief of the army.

The whole affair had the quality of *opéra bouffe*—the more so since the revolt seems to have begun in the congenial surroundings of a *maison de tolerance* in Guatemala City—and one could treat it accordingly were it not that it involves the fate and hopes of the Guatemalan people. Actually the explosion of the cadets was only spectacular surface evidence of a deep dissatisfaction within the army. Seven top leaders of the regular army have been seized and placed under arrest, including Colonel Adolfo García Montenegro, former ambassador to Cuba; Colonel Federico Fuentes Giron, former Director of Communications; and Colonel Daniel Caceres, former secretary of the armed forces. To excuse his action Castillo Armas has charged the officers with plotting to restore former President Arbenz to power. This accusation no one takes seriously.

Feeling justifiably insecure as to the attitude of the army, Castillo has now called upon a handful of union leaders

who had been at odds with the Arbenz regime to rally to his assistance—an act reminiscent of Perón. These "labor" recruits have threatened a general strike unless the regular army forswears any role in the government and Castillo Armas is made sole boss. They demand not only "unification of power" but a Cabinet composed entirely of "certified anti-Reds." The main target of the group is Colonel Monzón, who with the agreement of Ambassador Peurifoy headed the governing junta before Castillo Armas became President.

In spite of the unrest it is most unlikely, at least for the time being, that the Arbenz government will return to power, but it is probable that the army will presently assume the task of creating a caretaker regime to put an end to the existing ridiculous state of things. No matter how many "victories" Castillo Armas may announce, he is obviously no longer in a position to resist a real ultimatum from the army. He has lost his freedom of action—along with whatever prestige may have surrounded a man who, before his exile and return, carried no weight. His recent behavior has revealed his character. For instance he invited two emissaries of La Aurora garrison to come to see him to discuss a compromise, and when they arrived he had both arrested. According to reliable reports it was necessary for Ambassador Peurifoy to bring to bear on the other members of the junta, Colonel Elfego Monzón and Major Enrique Oliva, all the weight of his—and his government's—influence to hold the trio together. But as an Associated Press dispatch from Guatemala reported, the three are governing the nation through a "shaky shotgun political union."

This time no one but Castillo Armas and a few of his supporters in Washington blamed the disturbances on the Communists, or on agents of the Arbenz regime. The incidents of August 2 must, in fact, have taken the followers of the deposed government by surprise. They are either crowding the embassies where they found refuge or are hidden in the

interior of the country under the protection of the peasants. Surely they must have assumed that six months or so would have to pass before they could begin a campaign of opposition. Now they have learned that it will not be necessary to wait so long. While the revolt came from within the army, it could never have taken place if Guatemala had been as full of enthusiasm for Castillo Armas and hate for Arbenz as many commentators tried to make us believe a month ago.

NOW that the quality of the "liberator" has been fully revealed, one wonders what sort of policy for Guatemala was in the minds of those officials in Washington who inspired and steered Castillo Armas's rebellion. A man of his stamp is surely incapable of offering the nation that "constructive alternative" advocated by the more enlightened enemies of communism for the countries where poverty is the chief weapon of the left-wing propaganda.

In the long run nobody will be able to stop the social revolution which, as in Asia and in Africa, is on the way in Latin America. People like Castillo Armas will ultimately be left behind as grotesque accidents in the historical process. But none the less they will continue to appear and to slow up the march of events unless the people show more determination and more agility in action than did those around Arbenz at the moment of the recent counter-revolutionary coup. In fairness one must withhold judgment until the day when President Arbenz and his collaborators, free to speak, tell the whole story of their government's collapse at a moment when, all over the world and particularly in Latin America, public opinion was rallying to their support. If they had held out one week more, their victory would have been sure. And the poor show just staged by Castillo Armas offers further proof that the only thing they had to do was to stand firm—and to fight. It is to be hoped that the lesson has been learned.

BRITAIN AND CHINA

Is America Out of Step? . . by Joan Robinson

London

BRITAIN'S relations with China in the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth were determined usually by its commercial interests, which also set the pattern for the attitude of other countries trading with China. Up to 1927, therefore, Chinese nationalists of all parties inevitably regarded Britain as the leading foreign barbarian. Since that unenviable place was usurped first by Japan and then by the United States, Sino-British relations have entered a phase in which emotional hangovers on either side have counted for much less than the immediate realities.

Britain was only peripherally involved in most of the Pacific war and not at all in the Kuomintang-Communist conflict from 1940 to 1949. At a fairly early stage the British government and British business interests in China decided that a Communist victory was a foregone conclusion. Consequently, the establishment of the People's Government in October, 1949, caused no surprise in Britain and had no such reaction on British internal politics as it seems to have had in America. British diplomacy realistically sized up the Far Eastern situation in terms of British and Commonwealth interests and recognized the need for a modus vivendi with the greatest land power in Asia. Napoleon's sleeping giant had awakened, and there was no use denying either that the giant was a giant or that he was awake.

Accordingly, Britain recognized the new regime *de facto* in January, 1950, and looked forward to the early resumption of normal diplomatic and commercial relations. This common-sense approach to China was and is shared by

both political parties in Britain in spite of differences of emphasis between them, differences which may indeed become crucial in the future. The Labor attitude is evident from the fact that an official party delegation, composed of leading members of the National Executive, including Mr. Attlee, is visiting China this month. The more qualified Conservative attitude is evident from Mr. Eden's behavior at Geneva and from his statement in the House of Commons during the debate on foreign affairs on June 23 that the Chinese at Geneva had made "a real contribution to peaceful coexistence."

As it happens, British political, economic, and cultural relations are being decisively and adversely affected by the overriding importance of the Anglo-American alliance. I make no apologies for beginning with politics, since in the present circumstances it bedevils economics. Under American pressure Britain participated on a small scale in the Korean war. Again on American instigation Britain in October, 1950, moved the resolution in the United Nations General Assembly authorizing the disastrous MacArthur advance beyond the Thirty-eighth Parallel to the Chinese frontier, which Mr. Nehru's warning should have forestalled. When in December, 1950, General MacArthur brought the Western world to the brink of all-out war with China and possibly Russia, Mr. Attlee made a major contribution to averting the catastrophe. But in spite of the continuance of the Korean war, a war for which there was never any enthusiasm, to say the least, on this side of the Atlantic, there was no deep current of animosity against China.

It is essential for Americans to understand this feeling, for the intensity of American hostility toward China has boomeranged on American relations with Britain. To us MacArthur was a firebrand, the China Lobby an unmitigated evil, and American intransigence

in the face of the facts of life concerning China a most awkward and perplexing phenomenon. As Roosevelt said of the recognition of Russia in the thirties, it is silly to pretend that a big hunk on the map of the world is a blank, or that it can be obliterated by wishful thinking.

THESE considerations were dramatically reinforced by the Indo-China crisis of April, 1954. This time it was Dulles, only too ably seconded by Nixon and Radford, who brought us to the edge, and Churchill and Eden, speaking for the whole world outside the United States, who came to the rescue, with Mr. Attlee's full support. The time thus gained gave Mendès-France the welcome opportunity to exercise an initiative which has been rewarded with at least temporary success.

The main line of the British government's China policy became still plainer in the course of the crisis and its resolution. Mr. Eden seems to have established cordial relations with Premier Chou En-lai at Geneva, where they agreed to the restoration of full, formal *de jure* diplomatic relations, including the setting up of official commercial missions. In the meantime an interchange of business delegations is proceeding against the backdrop of acute international tension.

Britain does not want war with China. We want peace and trade, and we would be dragged into even token participation in localized hostilities most reluctantly, if at all, and only under extreme American pressure. The amount of pressure required to bring this about would inescapably generate increasingly serious friction with the United States, and it is not too much to say that it would endanger the Anglo-American alliance. There can be no possible doubt of the strength of the popular sentiment in England in favor of peaceful and friendly relations with China. In this instance, our pragmatic approach to foreign policy is not cluttered up with

JOAN ROBINSON, distinguished British economist and author of "Economics of Imperfect Competition" and other books, visited China last year with a delegation of business men organized by the British Council for the Promotion of International Trade.

August 14, 1954

ideological prejudices, and we have a vague but none the less real sympathy for the Chinese people's vast experiment in modernization.

Since Americans may find the existence of this attitude hard to believe, I shall cite two quite independent authorities, the first concerning the Labor Party and the second the country in general. The political correspondent of the *Sunday Observer* indicated on May 30 that the main reason for the official Labor Party mission to China was "the overwhelming rank-and-file support for it," which the party executive could hardly ignore. And Drew Middleton, the London correspondent of the *New York Times*, stated on July 4 that "observers here are struck by the strong popular support for the government's policy of seeking expansion of diplomatic and economic relations with both Russia and China."

At the same time liberals in Britain and the United States must not deceive themselves. Sustained pressure from Washington has in the past counteracted and is now endangering the British government's tentative reflection of public opinion on this score, as is obvious from Churchill's speeches in the House of Commons on July 12 and 14. Only the foolhardy can dismiss the possibility of Conservative appeasement. It is ironic that the word appeasement has two entirely different meanings in our two countries. In America any form of negotiated settlement with China and/or Russia based on the premise of peaceful coexistence is automatically dubbed a "Munich"; here appeasement is coming to mean capitulating to America in the abandonment of attempts to make such settlements and of the premise—I should like to say axiom—of peaceful coexistence.

There is already an open cleavage between us on the question of relations with China. The present attitude of both parties was admirably summed up by Desmond Donnelly, M. P., in the House debate of June 23, when he advocated "an independent policy within the framework of the Anglo-American alliance." We cannot help asking ourselves if such a policy is not becoming a contradiction in terms. Should Washington push London too hard on China's international status, we should eventually have to choose between a dependent



Storm Clouds Courtesy York (Pa.) Gazette and Daily

policy within and an independent policy outside that framework. While Churchill evidently knows this, he and his successor may not be strong enough to do anything but drift into a satellite status vis-à-vis the United States.

AMERICAN influence has been no less potent in the economic than in the political sphere. China is now engaged in an ambitious program of economic development which gives it a vested interest in peace. In the broad historical perspective, the industrialization of China is going to occupy the same kind of place in the second half of the twentieth century as that of America in the second half of the nineteenth. From a narrowly economic point of view, therefore, we have everything to gain from a rapid expansion of our China trade. At its 1953 level it amounts to under \$50,000,000 a year, or a trivial fraction of 1 per cent of our total turnover of foreign trade. China wants to buy the kind of goods we have to sell and, what is no less important, has the wherewithal to pay for them. Britain and China are complementary economies, and since China's economic development is focused inward, there is no need to fear its becoming a competitor in third markets as was the case with Japan. The head of the recent Chinese commercial delegation to Britain placed the possible annual turnover of Sino-British trade in the near future at \$225,000,000 to \$280,000,000 if it is conducted on a normalized basis. This estimate is conservative and is derived

from a reasoned evaluation of export and import capabilities for specific categories of commodities. Stable trade at such a level would be a great asset to us in the years ahead.

In practice our trade is drastically restricted by the embargoes ensuing on the United Nations embargo resolution of May, 1951, and on the Battle Act. The enforcement of these embargoes is coordinated by COCOM, the mysterious Consultative Committee sitting in Paris in which the influence of Stassen's Foreign Operations Administration would appear to be paramount. In addition, as a result of the Board of Trade's stepmotherly license policy, the United Kingdom has lost to Germany, France, and Belgium Chinese orders for goods not on the embargo lists. This policy must be explained in terms of Foreign Office influence, which in turn was due to excessive fear of offending the State Department. British exports to China in 1953 were only two-thirds those of either Western Germany or Switzerland, a situation which is absurd on the face of it. British business and trade-union circles are becoming more and more impatient with COCOM enforcement of the embargoes and are asking how it is that other countries are getting in on the ground floor of Chinese industrialization. In the words of Harold Wilson, M. P., "evasion of the embargoes has become a major West European industry," and British business cannot understand why this country should be left behind in solitary virtue. The visit to Washington of the presi-

dent of the Board of Trade in the first week of July ended in another victory for the American diehards. More recently, however, some relaxation of the restrictions was negotiated. About one-third of the items on the embargo list were removed, those under partial quantitative control were reduced from ninety to twenty, and about sixty items were placed on a "watch list."

British desire to trade with China is thus another major source of friction in Anglo-American relations, and in the absence of positive remedial action this friction is bound to increase. The world we live in is not one in which new markets are to be had for the asking. British business men are not going to sit by just to please Senatorial standards of ideological purity while a market of great potential value is lost to less punctilious competitors. The embargoes would be one of the first casualties of a serious recession, and people here are already nervous lest American business men jump into the China market ahead of us in the event of a significant contraction of world trade.

BRITAIN'S economic interests with respect to China are not exhausted by the potentialities of direct trade with China. There is first the overwhelming importance of its China trade to Hongkong, which I need not review here since it was dealt with by C. P. Fitzgerald in his excellent article in *The Nation* for July 10. I should merely like to add an extract from Sir Alexander Grantham's interview with *Newsweek* (November 2, 1953): "Hongkong traders feel about the embargo much as a man feels when you give him a knife and tell him that it is in the interest of the community at large that he should cut his throat."

Second, the resurgence of German competition in foreign markets is already affecting Britain's international economic position. Japan's economic recovery has been slower off the mark than the German, and its share of the export of manufactures by ten leading trading countries, excluding the Soviet bloc, is less than half the pre-war amount. Now that the prop of United States military procurements has been withdrawn, Japan's balance-of-payments position has become extremely precarious, and in the past year its foreign-

exchange reserves have fallen by a third. It is not only our textile manufacturers who dread intensified Japanese competition in third markets. We were underbid by Germany and Japan in a traditionally British market when India recently placed a large order for locomotives with them.

The Japanese economy suffered a triple blow in 1945. The empire was destroyed; heavy industry lost its main market—namely, the imperial Japanese war machine; and nylon virtually displaced silk in Japan's chief foreign-exchange-earning outlet, the United States. Since this triple blow Japan has just not had the time to make the minimum essential adjustments. Add to this the repatriation of six million overseas Japanese and a natural increase in population of one million a year, and the situation becomes highly vulnerable, not to say explosive.

Before the war trade with China accounted for between a quarter and a third of Japan's total foreign trade. Now the volume of such trade is negligible—less according to the recorded figures than Sino-British trade—despite the Sino-Japanese agreement of 1952, which was renewed in 1953, providing for a total annual turnover of \$170,000,000. This modest target is only half the goal set by the Japanese Foreign Minister last year—10 per cent of Japan's total external trade *at current low levels*. The present volume of Japanese trade with China is so small for only one reason—the embargoes and restraints imposed by the United States. Otherwise Japan would be buying soy beans, salt, coking coal, and iron ore in quantity from China and selling it industrial, especially heavy industrial, goods in return.

The situation is thoroughly unnatural and cannot last indefinitely. Indeed, iron-fisted attempts to maintain these bans will enhance the anti-American feeling in Japan, which the H-bomb tests have gravely inflamed. (See a remarkable article by its Tokyo correspondent in the *London Times* of July 16, not the least remarkable feature of which is the attempt to explain away the Japanese reaction to the H-bomb tests as *irrational*.) In the meantime the less Japan is allowed to trade with China, the more unpleasant will become Japanese competition with British ex-

ports in Southeast Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The restoration of normal commercial relations between Japan and China is therefore an unequivocal British interest.

THIRD, Britain must consider not only itself and Hongkong but other Commonwealth countries, particularly those in Southeast Asia. India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Malaya can develop a substantial trade with China to their own, the sterling area's, and therefore Britain's advantage. Ceylon, deliberately ignoring the embargo, is conducting a flourishing business with China, and rubber interests in Malaya—which is still a colony and therefore lacks Ceylon's autonomy as a dominion—are casting envious eyes on the favorable price Ceylon receives for its exports of rubber to China. Pakistan and India have negotiated some very large barter deals with China during the last few years, and expansion of Sino-Indian trade is logically to be expected as the aftermath of the Chou-Nehru meeting and the concomitant commercial conversations.

Finally, other Asian countries seem to be following Ceylon's lead. Indonesia and Burma have concluded trade agreements with China, and there are rumors that Indonesia is going to sell rubber to China. Naturally there are conflicting forces at work in these countries. The United States did its best—or worst—to prevent the Ceylon-China rubber-rice deal but failed because it did not offer a high enough price for Ceylon rubber. Apparently, it is still trying to induce Ceylon to abandon this highly profitable agreement, under which Ceylon sells rubber above and buys rice below world-market prices. The worsening of the terms of trade against primary producers in the last year or so makes China a most desirable customer, especially at a time when dollar purchases are falling off.

One of the criteria economists use in assessing administrative measures such as rationing and price control is their tendency to work with or against market forces. This criterion also applies to embargoes and political restrictions. American policy with respect to China's foreign trade unquestionably works against the forces of the market. From this it follows, not that the policy cannot be temporarily maintained, but that it

becomes harder and harder to enforce with the passage of time and that in the event of such complications as the cessation of American military procurements in Japan, or a sustained recession in the United States, or a sharp downturn in the prices of primary products, it will probably collapse.

I WOULD add a word on cultural relations. The British Commonwealth can provide a double bridge between China and the Western world, through India and through Britain. China regards itself as a "new democracy" evolving toward socialism. It has the great advantage of not having to pay "the penalty of being first" in socialist industrialization. Its people, as the heirs of a rich and un-

broken cultural tradition, have a serene confidence and ease in political, social, and personal relations with other nationals which the Russians are still in the process of acquiring. As of the moment, they have no chip on their shoulder in communicating with foreign intellectuals. India is an Asiatic country, grappling with the same formidable problems as China, and is also a member of the Commonwealth with material and cultural ties to Britain. The Chou-Nehru meeting in Delhi and Mr. Krishna Menon's role at Geneva are symbolic of India's position as a mediator between China and the West.

Britain is a "welfare state," primarily capitalistic but with undoubted if vague socialist leanings. In the event of a

détente in the international situation, we are admirably placed both to complement and to supplement India in this respect. On the one hand, China has much to learn from us technologically, scientifically, and socially; in favorable circumstances we could, at the very least, anticipate a resumption of the flow of Chinese students to Britain and of the exchange of scientists and cultural leaders between the two countries, to our mutual advantage. On the other hand, the Chinese with their innate sense of form in thought and action have a better chance than any other nation to achieve industrialization without the soulless philistinism of the Industrial Revolution in the West. If they succeed, we shall all be their debtors.

NEWS FROM ARDEN

The U.S. Belongs in the U.N. . . by Anthony Broy

IN 1955 the United Nations will be ten years old. Under Article 109 of the Charter a proposal to call a conference on revising the Charter will automatically be placed on the agenda of the tenth General Assembly next spring.

Over the week-end of August 1 the American Assembly, a discussion group founded by President Eisenhower in 1950 when he headed Columbia University, met at Arden House, the former Harriman mansion in the Ramapo Mountains north of New York City, to discuss suggested changes in the Charter and to take a new look at the United States' stake in the United Nations. After two and a half days of spirited give-and-take behind closed doors, the blue-ribbon assembly of some sixty educators, journalists, business men, clergymen, labor leaders, and diplomats agreed on a lengthy set of findings. If these were no ringing declaration to be nailed to a church door, they contained a sharp rebuke to Senator McCarthy, to Senator Knowland and his coterie of hard-

rock isolationists, and to Congressmen who have succeeded recently in emasculating American appropriations for technical assistance to underdeveloped countries.

The most vigorously debated of all questions was the admission of Communist China to the United Nations. The delegates agreed on the principle of "universality of membership" in the U. N., but some argued that the phrase meant just what it said—that the de facto government of every nation should be seated—while others would attach a moral qualification. Only a "peace-loving state," this group held, should become a member of the U. N. The question whether the Chinese Communists were "peace-loving" was then sidestepped. In its final recommendation the assembly found that the Peking government should not now be admitted—reasons not stated—but deplored the "tendency in the United States to adopt a rigid policy of permanent opposition under all circumstances to the seating of this regime."

A number of delegates confessed to being puzzled by Ambassador Lodge's recent statement that should Red

China's application for admission be brought up in the United Nations he would veto it. These men said privately that Communist China's admission would be considered by the credentials committee of the U. N. General Assembly and hence was not subject to a veto. The final statement of the Arden House conference bore them out: "The question of what government should represent China in the United Nations is not, technically, a question of membership but of proper representation of a country already a member."

Examining the need for Charter review in the light of the history of the past nine years the gathering noted that three major developments had taken place in world affairs since the Charter was adopted in 1945—the "cold war," the progress in nuclear weapons, and the rising nationalism in Asia and Africa. The "cold war" was attributed to aggressive Soviet policies. On the significance of nuclear weapons the delegates took their cue from a keynote speech by General Matthew B. Ridgway, who warned that undue reliance should not be placed on A-bombs or H-bombs. They then considered the morality of

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using the bombs. Some delegates thought nuclear weapons no more and no less immoral than a good many others now employed. Was saturation bombing, they asked, any less immoral than atom-bombing? The delegates agreed that in any eventuality "bomb rattling" by Americans in high places should be strictly eschewed. The net effect of a truculent policy based on the possession of atomic and hydrogen bombs, they said, might be to drive the neutral nations into a still more determined neutrality and to scare our present allies into thinking that a policy of neutrality offered them "their best chance of survival."

The rising nationalist movements in Asia and Africa occupied a good deal of the assembly's time. In corridor talk several persons expressed the view that the United States, with its "long anti-colonial tradition," should in "unequivocal and unambiguous" language place itself behind liberation movements abroad, even at the risk of alienating our British and French allies. The final statement said only: "It is urgent that we develop, in cooperation with our European friends, programs which will speed the orderly progress toward self-government of those peoples still under colonial rule."

IF THE Assembly criticized colonialism rather hesitantly, it came out with a ringing affirmation of support for the United Nations, took a slap at those who wanted the United States to withdraw from the organization, and sharply attacked those who wished to expel the Soviet Union. "We must stay in the United Nations. We must work to make it an even more effective instrument for peace with justice and freedom. We must use it and not by-pass it. We must make it, in fact as well as in pious theory, the cornerstone of United States foreign policy," the final resolution read; and continued, "With the Soviet bloc absent, there would be no hope of reducing 'cold war' tensions through the United Nations; with them present, this possibility exists."

The assembly called upon the United States to expand its own overseas-aid appropriations. Several delegates strongly disapproved, if only for strategic reasons, the severe cutbacks passed by Congress. American military bases over-

seas, they said, would be of dubious value if they became "islands in a sea of discontent." The assembly also asked the United States to channel a larger proportion of its aid through the U. N. —that is, expand the work of the U. N. Technical Assistance Division. Direct American aid, it was pointed out, was being interpreted in some foreign quarters as an attempt to capture allegiances through gifts of food and clothing. Channeled through the United Nations, American aid would be seen as coming from "clean hands."

Not embodied in the final resolution but voiced earlier in the conference by a critical few was the view that the United States should stop thinking in terms of "what is good for us is good for the United Nations," should stop using the U. N. as an instrument of American foreign policy, and should work instead to remake the U. N. into a true world agency.

Early in the discussions several delegates regretted that regional pacts and bilateral negotiations were undermining the U. N.'s prestige: "Recent actions have tended to relieve the U. N. of primary responsibility, as in the case of Guatemala, and have weakened it in the process." But the final resolution on this point read: "Regional arrangements which are within the spirit and purpose of the Charter, such as NATO and the Organization of American States, are necessary and effective agencies of collective security. We regard them as an essential part of world-wide collective security. In appropriate circumstances, they should be used for carrying out United Nations decisions on a regional basis."

Outside the conference rooms and in conversation with reporters delegates talked freely about the damaging effect of McCarthyism on the prestige of the United States abroad. On the one side McCarthyism was hamstringing the ability of the State Department to negotiate treaties. On the other side our allies were becoming increasingly reluctant to sign treaties with us, knowing that these treaties would soon become tied to American domestic politics and that the Senate might refuse to ratify them, leaving the nations concerned high and dry after they had committed themselves to a definite course of action.

The original topic before the confer-

ence—Charter revision—took a back seat in the debates and in the final recommendations. On this subject the assembly broke wide open. A minority pressed for a meeting on Charter revision.



sion next year, holding that much water had passed under the bridge since 1945, that the United Nations had lost much of its effectiveness in this period, and that a serious reexamination of the Charter was in order. The majority, agreeing with Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld, who had already made it clear that he did not favor rewriting the Charter at this time, felt that the projected reexamination would open a "Pandora's box" out of which would fly such differences and confusion as would endanger the very existence of the U. N. This majority held, however, that if the U. N. General Assembly voted for a conference on the Charter the United States should not actively oppose it. It also pointed out that the Charter could be amended at any time with the approval of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly, including the permanent members of the Security Council.

Any recommendation on abolition of the veto in the Security Council was conspicuously absent from the final declaration of the assembly. Delegates freely admitted to reporters that the United States would never consent to such a change.

What the discussion in this year's American Assembly foreshadows is, of course, a great debate on the United Nations Charter and on American policy in relations to the United Nations. The subject will be very much in the news in 1955, the year of Charter revision.

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DILEMMA OF THE SCIENTIST

Good Science Means Dissent . . by J. Bronowski

NEARLY nine years ago, on a warm autumn evening in 1945, I was driving over the mountains of southern Japan to the city of Nagasaki. I thought I was still in open country when all at once I realized that I was already crossing what had been the city. The shadows which flickered past me in the dusk were not rocks and trees: they were crushed buildings, the bare and skewed ribs of factories, and two crumpled gasometers.

The scale of the damage at Nagasaki drained the blood from my heart then, and does so now when I speak of it. For three miles my road lay through a desert which man had made in a second. Now, nine years later, the hydrogen bomb is ready to dwarf this scale, and to turn each mile of destruction into ten miles. And citizens and scientists stare at one another and ask, "How did we blunder into this nightmare?"

I put this first as a question of history, because the history of this is known to few people. The fission of uranium was discovered by two German scientists a year before the war. Within a few months it was reported that Germany had forbidden the export of uranium from the mines of Czechoslovakia, which it had just annexed. Scientists on the Continent, in England, and in America asked themselves whether the secret weapon on which the Germans were said to be working was an atomic bomb. If the fission of uranium could be used explosively—and this already seemed possible in 1939—it might in theory make an explosion a million times larger than hitherto. The monopoly of such an atomic bomb would give Hitler instant victory, and make him master of Europe and the world. The scientists

knew the scale of what they feared very well: they feared first desolation and then slavery. With heavy hearts they told Albert Einstein what they knew of atomic fission. Einstein had been a pacifist all his life, and he did not easily put his conscience on one side. But it seemed clear to him that no scientist was free to keep this knowledge to himself. He felt that no one could decide whether a nation should or should not use atomic bombs except the nation itself; the choice must be offered to the nation and made by those whom the nation had elected to act for it. On August 2, 1939, a month before Hitler invaded Poland, Einstein wrote to President Roosevelt to tell him that he thought an atomic bomb might be made, and he feared that the Germans were trying to make one.

THIS is how it came about that, later in the war, scientists worked together in England, Canada, and America to make the atomic bomb. They hated war no less than the layman does—no less than the soldier does; they too had wrestled with their consciences, and they had decided that their duty was to let the nation use their skill, just as it uses the skill of the soldier or the expert in camouflage. The atomic scientists believed that they were in a race against Germany whose outcome might decide the war even in its last weeks. We know now that the race was almost a walk-over. The Germans were indeed trying to make an atomic explosion, and they thought that they were ahead of the allies. But by our standards what they had done was pitiful; they had not made a pile that worked, and they believed that the fast chain-reaction of an atomic bomb was impossible. The Nazis had made fundamental science a poor relation, and put it under second-rate party men with splendid titles. And, more deeply, the Nazis had sapped the pith and power of research, the quizzical eye and the questioning mind, the urge to

find the facts for oneself. There were not enough unconventional ideas in the German atomic projects, and when the younger men did put up some, their leaders always knew better.

In short, the Germans failed; it was the Allies who tested the first atomic bomb in July of 1945. By this time Germany was defeated and Hitler was dead. The atomic scientists who had made the bomb in America were therefore shocked and distressed to hear that it was still intended to use it, against the Japanese. They wrote a round robin to President Truman in which they pleaded against this decision. This is not simply a bigger bomb, they said: it changes the very scale of war and of all power; and it should be demonstrated to the world, not on men and women, but in some desert place. However, the protest of the scientists was ignored; and Hiroshima and Nagasaki were made desert places.

There were, I know, scientists who hoped after this that the atomic bomb would make war unthinkable. There are scientists today, and soldiers and statesmen too, who hope that the hydrogen bomb will bring the nations to their senses. I am afraid that they are mistaken. Wars are neither made nor unmade by weapons; it is the other way about—the weapons grow out of the wars. And by the same token, if there is war, then the weapons are used; alas, I have no faith in making the desperate business of war sporting by forbidding the more unpleasant forms of slaughter. The Lateran Council outlawed the cross-bow in 1139 because it was inhuman, and poets and scientists foresaw the danger of the flying balloon in 1784; but war has not become more kindly for their good sense.

I am therefore out of sympathy with the cry that the scientist ought not to discover formidable sources of power, or at least should not disclose them to his frail and destructive fellow-men. As a piece of advice this is unpractical, and

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as a policy it is a makeshift. It is, in fact, humbug—a pious wish that someone else should make the world a better place for us. Under any democratic system of government the responsibility for the world is yours and mine, and we do not change the world by what we wish but by how we act. If we do not want the nations to make hydrogen bombs or plan war, then it is our business to say so to those whom we elect to act for us, and to say it until they listen. And it is not enough to appeal to one side, as the "Peace Congresses" do which try to put pressure on every government except the Soviet government. In fact, I believe that not even a totalitarian government, despite its stony face, is immune to public opinion, to the voice in the crowd, to the arguments among friends. But there is a limit to the effectiveness of public pressure in totalitarian countries, and we must recognize this.

Here we cannot evade the choice the community must make, between a bomb or no bomb, between planning for war or peace, by asking the scientists to hide the choice from us. The community of voters decides that there shall be research for war and employs the scientist to do it. Having given him that hangman's job, it must not ask him to be judge as well, to decide single-handed what is or is not good for the community to know. The scientist in this work is the servant of the nation, and he must not dictate to it, even about his own discoveries. If he does so, he betrays his trust, just as much as Dr. Klaus Fuchs did when he decided that he knew best who should share the secrets of the atomic bomb.

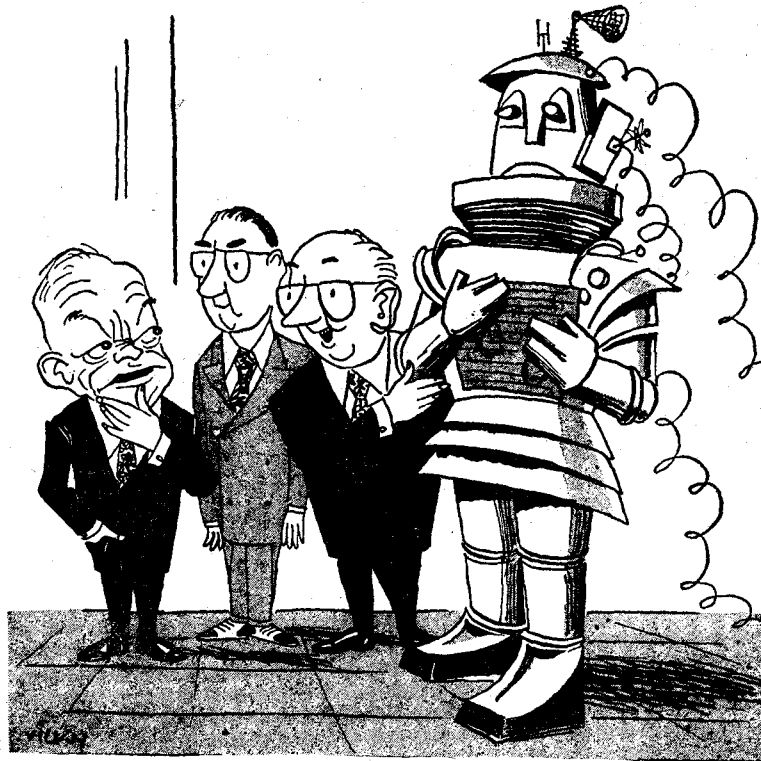
THEN what should the scientist do who abhors the miserable misuse of science to conspire death, and who wishes that he had never had a hand in computing an aiming error? I can only speak for the scientist in a free society. The scientist in a totalitarian system faces perhaps the same crisis of conscience, but if his government allows him no alternative he may indeed—who knows—act out his dissent in the sabotage of which he is often accused in public trials behind the Iron Curtain. The disaster of state intolerance, anywhere in the world, is that it saps both sides of the moral contract, the individ-

ual's as well as the state's. But the scientist in society has no right to dictate to society, and—this is the heart of the matter—in return society must not dictate his life to him. He must be free to follow his conscience, as any citizen should be free, in peace or in war. Like every man and woman the scientist has a duty to himself which demands that his work shall not only be useful but conform to his sense of human fulfillment and dignity. If this prompts him to reject research for war, or atomic physics, or science itself, he must be free and able to find other work.

Above all, the dissenting scientist must be free to give his reasons and to speak his mind. This is his true responsibility in the blundering, warring world: not to impose his will on his fellows, but to help them find their own wills. We live in a time when science penetrates every public issue, from a city plan to the fall in the death rate, from a fuel crisis to cigarette smoking or margarine. If the voter leaves these issues to the specialists, democracy will sink to what it became in Athens, when a minority of educated men governed 300,000 slaves. The faith of our democracy is that at bottom every man has the ability to form a judgment on every issue; and therefore the life of

democracy hangs by his willingness to educate his judgment. For example, voters here have learned a great deal of economics and of history, but in science they and the men they elect are steeped in prejudice. I believe that nations can choose wisely, and democracy can prove its power, if scientists are willing to become teachers to them. The chemist, the biologist, the mathematician can speak at first hand of the roots and the range of modern discoveries, their possible results for good or ill, the choices that they offer. And, more profoundly, from the statistician to the secret physicist each scientist has a method to teach by which the voter will measure promise against achievement and ask if the world has any business to fall so far short of what it might be.

TODAY the man who has worked on the issues of life and death, a guided missile or the hydrogen bomb, is seldom free to speak as he would like. I think his silence, in which secrecy and tact combine, is a loss to the community. And if in time he comes to find silence natural, the habit will dry up science itself, so that at last it fails its own nation. There is no conforming or totalitarian science. The dropping of the agricultural policies of Professor



Courtesy London Daily Mirror

"Mr. President, meet the American scientist of tomorrow—
no dangerous thoughts, no security risk."

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Lysenko is as much evidence of this as the poverty of German atomic research during the war. You cannot make a discovery to any pattern but its own, which in the end is the personality of the men who make it. And if you want good science, if you want minds from which everyone has something to learn, then

you must put up with men as awkward and heretical as Newton was. The dilemma of militarism in science is not confined to a few men who have their livings to make, or whom a board of loyalty clears but sacks. Like every moral problem it challenges the future of the nations in a most practical way. Can

we have secrecy and an educated democracy as well? Can we have a state-guarded science in which there will still be dissent? And if we give up dissent, how long before science becomes a hocus-pocus like alchemy, which has nothing to contribute either to war or to peace?

PHILADELPHIA STORY

Velde and the First Amendment . . . by Goldie Watson

MRS. GOLDIE WATSON, for twenty-two years a teacher at the Martha Washington Public School in Philadelphia, was among twenty-six teachers recently dismissed by the Philadelphia School Board for having refused to answer questions as to their political affiliations and beliefs. When questioned by the Velde committee on January 17, Mrs. Watson had invoked the First rather than the Fifth Amendment and been cited for contempt of Congress.

On June 4 the Philadelphia School Board summoned her to appear for a hearing. The technical charge against her was incompetence. Nineteen witnesses were prepared to testify to her superb record as a teacher and civic leader; a ruling of the board prohibited their testimony. A witness who was qualified to comment on academic-freedom issues and the function of Congressional committees was barred on objection by the board's counsel that such evidence was "irrelevant."

At one point in the hearing Walter Biddle Saul, conscientious and fair-minded president of the board, temporarily turned the gavel over to J. Harris LaBrum, a board member. Through what appeared to be deliberately provocative rulings LaBrum silenced Mrs. Watson's attorney and thereby provoked audible protests from the large audience. In the end, the board thought it best to permit Mrs. Watson to make a statement, the text of which follows.

The board voted ten to three against her, and on June 29 she received notice of her dismissal.—EDITORS THE NATION.

I HAVEN'T prepared a statement. I didn't know that what has happened in the last five minutes would happen.

Dr. Hoyer was permitted at great length to give the reasons why he suspended me. He was permitted under cross-examination and direct testimony, by the very lawyer who sat in on my original conference and now appears as my prosecutor, to say whatever he had to say. And I think I ought to have the right, even without my counsel, to say why I appeared. I want to say why when I got before the Velde committee I invoked the First Amendment. And I want the board to hear it. I want the board to hear what the Velde committee did to me.

Since the inception of the committee

in 1938 under the chairmanship of Martin Dies, I had been of the opinion that this wasn't a legislative committee concerned with investigating and then presenting laws; rather it was an inquisitorial committee and it was violating the First Amendment to the Constitution. I invoked the First Amendment because many inequities still exist against Negro Americans, and unless we have the right to meet and to talk and to confer and to petition the government, there is no political freedom for us. There is no opportunity for us to reach the ultimate conclusion drawn by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments. This has been a confirmed opinion of mine that has been stated in many speeches.

I knew that the Supreme Court had

not decided the question. I knew that this opinion of mine was held to be legal and right by many people in the country—justices of the Supreme Court, constitutional authorities, deans of law schools, and educators on all levels. It was not just the opinion of Goldie Watson.

I also knew that this was my only way to test whether my position was right. And I knew that if the Supreme Court found I was wrong I would be fined and would spend at least one year in jail. But, as I said there that day, these rights are sacred to me and I was willing to take this risk.

But I want to talk about the Velde committee and Goldie Watson. Two weeks before the first headline in Philadelphia I received a phone call from Mr. Fuoss of the Velde committee staff, who told me that he wanted to talk to me about communism. I invited him into my home. He came and brought with him a Mr. McKillip. When they entered my home they told me they had three persons who were willing to go on the witness stand and testify that they had known me to be a Communist. I asked who they were. Naturally, they wouldn't disclose that. And then Mr. Fuoss made a speech about my ability and my record, that it was so much in the black, and how much good I had done in the community. He said they had come to see me because they were convinced I would cooperate with them.

I wanted to know, "What do you mean by cooperate?"

And he said, "That you will name other people as Communists."

I stopped them right there. I told them that I have had a rule for twenty-two and a half years that when a pupil walks to my desk he says "I" [Mrs. Watson would not permit her pupils to inform on their classmates]. I said that nothing would make me cooperate in that sense with the committee. I gave them a breakdown of what I thought about the committee and its violation of all Americans' rights and its dangers, particularly to Negro Americans. I repeated that under no circumstances would I cooperate with them.

THE interview lasted for a very long time because I tried to convince Mr. Fuoss—I suppose it was ridiculous of me—what real Americanism is. I reminded him that this committee had never investigated anything that had happened to Negro Americans, no matter what crimes were committed. I am not going to review the crimes for you. You know about the lynchings. You know about the police violence. Never has this committee gone into any community and talked about un-Americanism as it affects Negroes. Therefore to me it was not a committee really concerned with un-Americanism; it was a committee that was an inquisition; and the individual members of the committee used it to gain political prestige. If they subpoenaed me—up to this point Mr. Fuoss had assured me I would never be subpoenaed—I would rest my destiny on my background in the classroom and my civic activities. And if my career, which Mr. Fuoss told me would end, if it all ended on the horns of this dilemma, it would end.

That wasn't the end of the committee. They mailed me documents. They called me on the telephone. In one telephone conversation, you would be interested to know, gentlemen, they attacked you, and very seriously.

I explained to Mr. Fuoss in each phone call that my position had not changed. Mr. Fuoss compared me to their prize Negro woman informant, Mrs. Dorothy Funn. I have never been so praised by anybody. He said, "How different you would be if you were on our side of the fence. You are vital. You have great national prestige." And then he dangled security in my Board of Education job. I wouldn't be subpoenaed. I wouldn't lose my job. He offered pro-

motions and dangled financial security. And I reminded him of what I had said in our first interview.

Then Mr. Fuoss said to me something that I think is very significant. He said, "Mrs. Watson, the Communists in the country will be the most surprised people that you have taken this position."

And I said, "I know they will, Mr. Fuoss, because there are two sets of people in this country who know I am not a Communist—the Communists and the F. B. I." He laughed. He said, "You are right, Mrs. Watson."

Mr. Fuoss still said he was not going to give me a subpoena. But I received my subpoena on Friday night at eight o'clock and the hearings started Monday. Everybody else had theirs two weeks or a month before. I got mine finally because I wouldn't knuckle under; because I hold the Constitution very dear, not just when it is good for Goldie, not just when it is safe.

All my life I have dedicated myself to Negro children. I have attempted to convince them that this was a country in which we could have ultimate freedom. I have held the Constitution very high. How could I, how could I down in Washington demonstrate that what I believed about the First Amendment only held for me when it was safe? If Goldie was going to be fired, if she was going to go through this kind of ordeal, then she would run to the cover of the committee. I couldn't do it. And it would have been the lowest type of moral cowardice and morals for me to have permitted myself to become a stool-pigeon and an informer because I had been informed on. I wouldn't do it. I could not have returned to my classroom under those circumstances.

When I walked into that room I knew that no power, no power on God's earth, could make me become a part of something that I thought was wrong, could make me show my boys and girls that I held the Constitution in contempt. Because for me to have participated in that inquisitorial investigation would have been showing that I did not believe in the Constitution.

I talked to Dr. Hoyer on October 15, 1952. I talked to him very frankly and very honestly. And when our conference ended, Dr. Hoyer reminded me that he had been my district superinten-

dent. And I said, "May I ask you two questions?"

My first question had to do with Mr. Soken. "Who is this gentleman?" I said. Then Dr. Hoyer introduced him and said he was the board's attorney.

My second question was, "What shall I do now?"

And he said, "Nothing." First he said, "What do you mean?"

And I said, "Shall I go out and get leading citizens to testify as to my loyal record?"

And he said, "No, Mrs. Watson, you don't need to do anything. You have cooperated with me. Your answers are satisfactory." He turned to Mr. Soken and said, "I think Mrs. Watson has answered the questions." He bowed and we ended the interview.

AND so I thought when I came here today that I would get a fair hearing. I am glad you have offered me the opportunity to tell you my opinions because I have been heartsick about what is happening in Philadelphia.

I invoked the First Amendment, but I recognize very clearly the position of those people who invoked the Fifth. I know the Fifth Amendment was written into the Constitution to protect the innocent as well as the guilty. And I appreciate the position the teachers have taken. But I made up my mind that never by any act of mine would I indicate that I had ever done anything to harm America.

I have tried to make my boys and girls proud to be Negroes, because in this great city of Philadelphia I have never had the opportunity of teaching a white child. And then I made them understand that if they believed in the Constitution, if they were willing to work for democracy, one day we would walk down the streets of America as Americans first and Negroes second; we would achieve the things guaranteed to us by the first ten amendments and by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth.

And I say to you, gentlemen, that if the First Amendment no longer means anything, if my right to test this amendment is a crime, we have reached a terrible state in America. Democracy is running down the drain. And Negro Americans will be able to achieve nothing in such an atmosphere.

August 14, 1954

BOOKS

From a Writer's Notebook

BY VAN WYCK BROOKS

I HAVE always noticed," said Boileau, returning from Versailles after one of his audiences with Louis XIV, "that when the conversation did not turn on his praise the King was bored and ready to go away." Sainte-Beuve, quoting this in his essay on Madame Récamier, adds, "Every great poet when growing old is on that point a little like Louis XIV," a fact that I have verified in the presence of two poets who have at least some claim to be described as great. I have noted that their opinion of other writers, especially critics, was almost entirely determined by what these writers had said, or thought, or done with reference to *them* and that, if not vain, they were deeply egotistical and became all the more so as they advanced in life.

This ever-increasing egotism of the literary mind is a sort of occupational or vocational disease, and it springs from the fact that their own personalities are the stock in trade of writers, for their work is literally spun from the "ego and his own." Subjectivity and isolation are their governing conditions. It is natural enough that, in many cases, from overcultivation, their egos are as morbid as the liver of a Strasbourg goose.

This explains why many poets, and other writers, are never happy unless incense is perpetually swung before them, for their self-esteem grows tenderer every day; and it also explains why even the greatest cannot forgive persistently hostile reviewers. For since they and their work are virtually identical, they feel that attacks on their writing are attacks on themselves. To what a sorry pass of low spirits and ill health reviewers have been known to bring

VAN WYCK BROOKS is the author of the five-volume work *Makers and Finders—a History of the Writer in America*. Selections from his unpublished Notebook have appeared in several previous issues of *The Nation*.

writers of genius, even to the point of killing them, as Shelley said of Keats—sometimes because their work is their only compensation for a general sense of ineptitude and failure in life.

In one of his essays Paul Valéry says of Edgar Allan Poe, "This great man would today be completely forgotten had not Baudelaire introduced him into European literature." What an odd statement! Yet many have taken for true this illustration of French provincialism. In the first place, Baudelaire did not introduce Poe into European literature, for the Russians were on the ground before him. They were publishing Poe in Russia in the late eighteen-thirties. Moreover, in this country, however misprized, Poe was always famous, and he would have been preserved for the world by his countrymen alone. From the time of Rufus Griswold down, through Woodberry and through Stedman, Poe has been continually reedited and kept before the public.

The critic Montgomery Schuyler said that *except in architecture* American humor had never found full expression, but he might have added that it had found a fairly full expression in writings *about* American architecture. Schuyler himself referred to certain "disorderly" American modes that called for the intervention of an architectural police, and the architect Louis Sullivan spoke of the "Tubercular" and "Cataleptic" fads, which might have been "President Grant" or "Admiral Dewey." Two California crazes were signaled by Bret Harte as the "Union Pacific Renaissance" and the "Comstock Lode" manner, and Ambrose Bierce, in "Can Such Things Be?" described as follows a certain house that was an example of the "Early Comatose order": "It appeared to have been designed by an architect who shrank from publicity and, although unable to conceal his work, did

what he honestly could to insure it against a second look." All these pleasantries recognize that the word "Victorian" is out of place in connection with wooden buildings of a type that Queen Victoria's realm never knew, while they disparage the innumerable fantastic inventions that have served in this country in lieu of a style. What they all seem to say is: we are waiting for the real thing and we will accept no makeshifts in the meantime.

Sherwood Anderson always said that Gertrude Stein made words "fresh," while Leo Stein said that for him words never grew stale, adding, "Words competently used seem to me as effective as ever." The feeling of Sherwood Anderson, a good writer, was entirely sincere; but would he have felt this so strongly if he had not been an advertising man who had spent much of his life in a journalistic world? The prevalence of journalism in the twentieth century, especially with Americans, so many of whom have also been advertising writers accustomed to the conscious or half-conscious debasing of words, largely accounts for the vogue of Gertrude Stein.

How confidently English writers count on fame! Cunningham Graham, for instance, writing of W. H. Hudson, spoke of his place in literature as "fixed as securely as Betelgeuse in the firmament." He called "Far Away and Long Ago" "a classic as imperishable" as the stories that Boccaccio penned for mankind's delight, and he could use these words in a country in which literary men arrive at an "assured status" with the age of eighty. For so I read in a trustworthy English review, which also informs me that three books on Norman Douglas were published within a year of this writer's death. In England what centenary of an author goes unnoticed? There statues of authors are erected in towns where they have lived, there plaques are affixed to their houses, there plays are written and acted about them, and memorial editions, ten volumes at a time, are published in "Penguins" ten years after their death.

In this country the hungry generations tread them down, and no writer of any kind is able to count on a public that will remain loyal for ten or even

for two years. In literature we have few or no permanent titles; there is no such thing with us as "winning one's spurs." This is because the American mind, unlike the English, is not formed by books but, as Carl Sandburg once said to me, waving a goodbye from the platform of a train, "by newspapers and the Bible." But is this something that critics can take lying down? Is it not in their interest, and that of authors acting with them, to create in this country a memory and a fund of esteem?

★

Several literary types have vanished from the world under the stresses and strains of the world-war epoch—the bookman, for instance, and the man of letters, rightly so called, types that existed everywhere fifty years ago. I do not mean the parlor dispenser of "art appreciation" who was really a sort of parody of the artist as critic, but the superior type that was represented in England by Saintsbury and Andrew Lang and with us by Huneker, for instance, and John Jay Chapman. These were the men, ubiquitous once, who followed the by-paths of literature and art and communicated a taste for letters as a mode of pure enjoyment, and like the old Trelawney type of literary adventurer they have disappeared with the pressure of modern living.

So also the by-paths they followed have been left untrodden. Life has become too difficult for these types to survive, though one still finds them occasionally in Europe as one finds tinkers on Irish roads who recall the days of "Lavengro" and "The Romany Rye."

Medical Trail-Blazers

WILLIAM H. WELCH AND THE RISE OF MODERN MEDICINE.

By Donald Fleming. Little, Brown and Company. \$3.

DOCTOR DAN. By Helen Buckler.

An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown and Company. \$5.

By Bennett Epstein

A MERICANS have always been devoutly concerned about their health. In an earlier day they flocked to medicine shows and later fell with equal enthusiasm for the lure of patent-medicine advertisements. Yet the name of

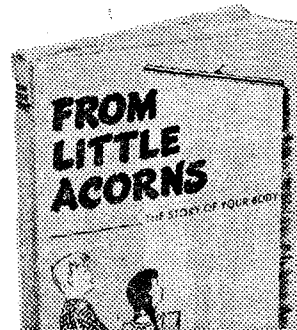
So one sees on Dublin streets or even London streets the *Yellow Book* dandy and the threadbare author who carry the mind back to Max Beerbohm and the novels of George Gissing. But in general these characters are as lost and forgotten, in literature and life, as the days of the "Household Poets" or the days when Thackeray wrote novels "in the gentlemanly interest." It is just as Huneker said, in the early twenties, before he died, "Seven devils of war and woe . . . and hatred, murder, and rapine have driven forth the gentle arts from the House of Life."

The literary temperature is too inclement for these types now—that is to say, the prevailing spirit of the age—for, as Taine pointed out, according to the temperature, so is the selection that takes place among the species of talent. Some species prove abortive that would have thriven in a warmer air and that may thrive again at some time in the future: they are extinguished or fail to develop when the customs of the moment and the public mind repress them or close the outlets which they require. William James in one of his essays followed a cognate line of thought when he spoke of the kinds of genius that are at odds with their surroundings, that are condemned to be ineffective because "some previous genius of a different strain has warped the community away" from them. Putting together the types of genius that have molded the mind of our time with the spiritual climate that a world-war epoch has created, one can understand why these types have been pushed to the wall.

Dr. William H. Welch, who only a few decades ago raised the status of medical training in America from the lowest in the world to the highest, is unknown to the average layman. And Dr. Daniel Hale Williams, a Negro who was acclaimed even into this century as a leading surgeon and who initiated many practices of modern surgery, became a forgotten man in his own lifetime.

As late as 1872, when William Welch entered the College of Physicians and Surgeons, American schools had no requirements for admission and no laboratory, hospital, or clinical facilities.

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A few schools were connected, nominally, with universities, but the majority were proprietary schools, operated for personal profit. Diplomas were granted, often bought, after a few months of listening to lectures.

After receiving his degree Welch went to Germany and worked in the research laboratories of the best-known medical scientists. He came back with an ideal of medical training based on clinical research, high educational prerequisites, and facilities for hospital experience. The only place in America where he saw a chance to realize this ideal was at the new Johns Hopkins University, which was planning to establish a hospital and medical school. Welch was appointed professor of pathology and became the moving force in setting high scientific standards for the hospital and school. He grew to be an acknowledged leader in developing public-health service. As chairman of the advisory board he guided the program and methods of the new Rockefeller Institute. He laid out fields of activity for large, privately endowed projects like the Carnegie Institute, as well as for the National Research Council and virtually every medical organization of his day.

IN CONTRAST to Mr. Fleming's severely objective account, in which no clear picture of Welch the man emerges, Miss Buckler's story of Dr. Dan reads like a novel. With affection and a sense of human drama she depicts his early struggles to gain a livelihood, his rise to the status of foremost surgeon of his time, his efforts on behalf of his people, his betrayal by members of his own race, his last tragic years of physical helplessness and mental decline, and his burial in an unmarked grave.

Fair-skinned and red-haired, Daniel Hale Williams might have passed as a white man. He chose, however, to identify himself always as a Negro.

Although he came of a moderately well-to-do and highly respected family, his mother abandoned him, at the age of twelve, to making his own living. First a barber's assistant and bass fiddler at church entertainments, he later made a start at studying law and then became, by chance, an apprentice to a busy and competent doctor in Janesville, Wisconsin. So his life-work was determined.

At the age of twenty-four he started

his formal training at the Chicago Medical College, one of the better medical schools of the time. Three years later he began practice in Chicago. Some daring and successful operations obtained for him a constantly growing clientele. Through recommendations from his former white teachers he received appointments as staff surgeon in various institutions and as a member of the Illinois Board of Health.

But always he was preoccupied with the lack of opportunities for Negroes in the medical profession and the complete absence of training facilities for Negro nurses. His increasing fame and popularity with both Negro and white colleagues and patients enabled him to enlist wide support for the first interracial hospital. In 1891 the Provident Hospital and Training School opened its doors. Some of the foremost white doctors of Chicago became consultant physicians. Dr. Dan set high standards for his mixed staff, for the training of nurses, and for antiseptic preparation, rarely practiced up to that time.

Two years later he performed an operation which established his place in the medical profession. A man was brought in who had been stabbed in the heart. The prevailing theory would have considered the case hopeless, but Dr. Dan performed successfully the first authenticated operation on the human heart. The description of this operation, before an audience of doctors watching each stage in tense amazement, is as exciting as the wildest chapter in an adventure story.

The widespread fame he thus gained led to his appointment, against strong political opposition, as head of the Freedmen's Hospital for Negroes, a government institution in Washington affiliated with Howard University. Here he instituted major reforms in the care of patients and also in the supervision of interns and nurses and introduced modern antisepsis. Within a year a shockingly high mortality rate dropped to an unprecedented low.

Dr. Dan's rigid standards aroused bitter enmity among the more lax and the ousted staff members. A groundfire of intrigue and the betrayal of Dr. Dan by his Negro first assistant and intimate friend led, with the change in 1896 to a Republican Administration, to a Congressional investigation of Dr. Dan's

position. At his hearing he was able to refute all the false charges made against him, but although apparently cleared he was sickened to the point of resigning. Six months later the report of the committee, influenced by political and personal plotting, confirmed most of the hostile accusations.

Still connected with Provident Hospital, Dr. Dan spent the next years in performing some history-making operations, working unceasingly for the establishment of medical schools for Negroes in the South, and fighting segregation wherever he encountered it. He tried to induce Booker T. Washington to include medical training at Tuskegee and to urge the appointment of a qualified head for the Freedmen's Hospital, but Washington was evasive and finally hostile.

The deepest stab came from the machinations of Dr. George Hall, a man of his own race, whose everlasting enmity he had incurred years before by judging him inadequately trained to join the Provident staff. By spreading innuendoes against Dr. Dan's professional achievements and worming his way into favor with Booker Washington, he made Dr. Dan's position untenable. In 1926 Dr. Dan resigned from the staff of Provident Hospital and retired to his country home in Michigan.

His death in 1931 evoked tributes in white and colored newspapers, but many people thought he had died years before. No tombstone marked his grave, and when three years later a greater Provident Hospital was erected, the picture of his arch enemy, Dr. Hall, was hung in the lobby and no memento of Dr. Dan was anywhere displayed.

There are some interesting parallels between the careers of Dr. Dan and Dr. Welch. The two men were almost exact contemporaries. They had similarly high and revolutionary standards for their profession. Dr. Dan's reforms at Freedmen's Hospital began the same year that the Johns Hopkins Medical School opened in Baltimore, fifty miles away. Yet their careers do not appear to have impinged at any time. And in the biography of neither is the name of his fellow-pioneer even mentioned.

BENNETT EPSTEIN, formerly a regular reviewer for a Chicago newspaper, now does free-lance writing.

The Other Side

EYEWITNESS IN INDO-CHINA. By Joseph Starobin. Cameron and Kahn. \$2.50, cloth; \$1, paper.

By O. Edmund Clubb

IT IS not fashionable these days to quote pro-Communist works. Indeed, the mere reading of them has its perils. And here is a book by a former foreign editor of the *New Masses*, written in a partisan vein, openly in favor of the Vietminh. Mr. Starobin spent about a month in Vietminh company in early 1953—the first American, he notes, to visit them in seven years—and writes as an eyewitness.

Some of this book is a traveler's tale of the trip from Peking to Vietminh country and return. Space is given to brief historical accounts of both the Vietminh and the Cambodian and Laotian "liberation movements." But Mr. Starobin also recounts in some detail his observations of the revolutionaries' daily existence in the hill country, and treats of particular subjects like the Vietminh agrarian policy.

He includes, besides, a record of various interviews with Vietminh chief Ho Chi-minh; General Vo Nguyen Giap; Pham Van Dong, who headed the Vietminh delegation at Geneva; and personalities of the rebel National Assembly. He goes on to report contacts he had with the common people who do the working, and the fighting, on the Vietminh side. He tells anecdotes regarding their demeanor, actions, comments, and their responses to his questions. He describes civilian and military discipline, the practice of self-criticism, and the social position of the intellectuals.

It comes to mind that this pattern has been met before. Ho Chi-minh's concept of protracted war was formulated by Mao Tse-tung in a lecture series of 1938. Vo Nguyen Giap's characterization of guerrilla warfare and analysis of the French military dilemma have their counterparts in Chinese Communist thought. The Vietminh political set-up, comprising a nominally coalition gov-

ernment dominated by the Communist Lao Dong, is similar to that found in China. And the political approach to the people bears striking resemblances to procedures employed by the Communists led by Mao Tse-tung.

Information in war, said Clausewitz, is "the foundation of all our plans and actions." Mr. Starobin's present account, judged by the known facts of the Chinese revolution, probably reflects with general accuracy the Vietminh picture as it is being presented by Ho Chi-minh's followers to the Vietnam people. The Vietminh portrayal is being given wider currency still—in other parts of Asia,

and even in France. The Communist interpretation of events in Indo-China will affect many people, whether we like it or not. For the author raises a number of pressing speculative questions. They are presumably in the Communists' minds; some of them urgently confront non-Communists as well. The chief of these is whether developments in Indo-China will lead to peace or to a war involving the United States, and what the effect of those developments will be on France. The book "Eyewitness in Indo-China" offers information that, properly weighed and carefully collated with data already available, will prove of significance for those who may desire to understand more fully the motive forces of the Vietminh.

TRAGIC POSITION OF CHURCHES TODAY

(Beyond selling space for publication of the accompanying material, *The Nation* is not to be held responsible for statements contained in the material)

Jehovah, champion of "the poor and needy".—Baal, the god of wealth, whose devotees appealed to the Baal cult as vindicating their legal hold on the plain people.—"Baal hath devoured the labor of our fathers from our youth, their flocks and their herds, their sons and their daughters" (Jeremiah 3: 24; cf. Jer. 11: 13). "The name Baal became the very signature of heathenism": Prof. George F. Moore, of Harvard Divinity, in *Commentary on Judges*, 195). Heathen religion was identified in antiquity with political tyranny, cult prostitution, and land monopoly. "Woe until those that add house to house, and field to field" (Isaiah 5: 8).

Modern scientific Biblical scholarship shows that the religion of One God was not impressed abruptly upon the Hebrew people at a flaming mountain in the wilderness of Arabia. Not a single one of the scholars responsible for the new Revised Bible of 1952 looks to Mount Sinai as the source of Ethical Monotheism. They do not accept the Pentateuch as a trustworthy introduction to the Hebrew history that took place in Palestine. But on the contrary, scientific Biblical interpretation shows that the resounding struggle against "other gods" was a long, desperate, and bloody fight against economic enslavement of the Hebrew peasant class under the Hebrew wealthy class. That is how the religion of One God was gradually and painfully brought forth under the leadership of the Hebrew prophets in Palestine itself.

What is it, then that has obscured the vivid human meaning of Hebrew history and covered up the significance of the Bible as a reflection of that history? Who or what is responsible for enthroning in our Church Pattern the naively blasphemous idea that the Bible stands for the "real" God, as opposed to heathen gods that are "unreal"? Who or what has defaced the ancient, dramatic Story of God, and substituted for it the complacent Respectabilities of modern ecclesiasticism?—A bulletin on the subject can be obtained by sending a three-cent stamp as below. (Requests without stamp will bring no result).—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

O. EDMUND CLUBB, a retired American foreign-service officer, spent twenty years in various Far Eastern posts.

August 14, 1954

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Theater

Harold Clurman

THOUGH there was nothing on the London stage during my brief visit to England (July 2 to July 23) to cause any strong reaction of either pleasure or distress, I constantly enjoyed going to the theater there.

The London theater is an easy place. The audiences are relaxed and attentive, as well as cordially appreciative of the slightest favors. The theater is not a challenge to an English audience, nor is a poor play considered a swindle. The audience comes to the theater satisfied that it will have an agreeable time. It hardly expects the performance to shatter, convulse, inspire, or rape it. Apart from certain first-nighters in the gallery, the English audience does not become rude when it fails to be entertained.

The theater in England is regarded in the main as a gentle art. Its economic life is difficult, but not disastrously so. Its artists are concerned about it, but an atmosphere of comparative repose and security still obtains.

Most systematic observers of the theater in London felt severely let down by the season of 1953-54. Hardly any of the new plays had made a marked impression on them. The level of acting, they averred, had remained high, but the material presented had been lamentably feeble. Exceptions were made for the new Christopher Fry play, "The Dark Is Light Enough"—there was some uncertainty about this too—and interesting themes were found in the semi-political drama of "The Prisoner" and "Marching Song." Apart from "The Boy Friend," a fondly satirical evocation of American musicals of the twenties, and a little revue, "Intimacy at 8:30," the best all-round show was "The Teahouse of the August Moon," a nice American gift tendered through the acting offices of Eli Wallach's warm charm.

I shall reserve an account of my reaction to the Fry play for the occasion of its New York production. Since for the present the London theater's chief claim to distinction, according to its own critics, lies in the excellence of the acting, I shall confine my remarks to a consideration of that subject.

A steady competence is the mark of English acting today. The actors not only speak well and comport themselves with an assurance which results from continuous practice on the stage but show a craftsmanlike dedication that produces a most gratifying effect. Even in the presence of an only moderately talented player we are made to feel that acting is an art and the actor a person to be respected as an artist.

In this regard English acting is superior to our own, which is often marred by a certain strain, as if the actor were not sure of his preparation for the stage or of his ability to cope with the competition not alone of other actors but of other interests and entertainments which might appeal to the public more than his own meager efforts. In other words, the English actor profits by a tradition that justifies him in taking his work seriously and allows him confidently to expect to make normal progress in what may be reasonably assumed to be a permanent institution. The American actor is haunted by a fear that he is perhaps only a vagrant and his career perilously prone to accident.

The lack of undue tension in the English actor, while it helps make him professionally efficient, often tends to render him artistically tame. But before pursuing this theme any farther, let us turn back for a moment to the subject of the English drama, the stuff with which the English actor has to work.

I HAVE heard it said by Englishmen—I am in no position to advance any certain judgment on this—that the failure to produce a new group of playwrights as vigorous as that of the generation between 1895 and 1929 is due to the historically understandable tiredness and quasi-depletion of the English people today. The English are not energized by an expansive prosperity or optimistic enough to rebel against the complacency of a firmly entrenched culture. The present social situation demands an earnestly cautious conservatism because the possibilities of disaster to a hard-tested people are overwhelming.

The English are a practical race and not given either to fits of metaphysical depression or to hysteria: they will produce no "pessimistic" drama—which often serves as a safety valve for volatile or philosophically expressive people in unhappy circumstances. What results, therefore, is a rather unadventurous type of drama reflecting bygone modes. The plays now being written—the popular and very well acted "A Day by the Sea" by N. C. Hunter may be taken as an example—are intelligent, literate, in every way decent, but essentially devoid of any true flair or fresh perception. They reflect a society sensibly making the best of a confused and trying time, unwilling to take chances at a moment when just honest living may be all the boon one has a right to expect.

Something of this may be deciphered in the general quality of the acting. There is certainly a far greater number of gifted and well-trained actors between the ages of forty and fifty than here, and it is a privilege to see them. Yet one comes away from their performances with the realization that a job has been done with fine aplomb but without a truly quickened sense of life. Passion is usually absent, and spurts of deeply personal feeling, lively sensibility, or imagination are even more rare than on our stage. These are, of course, uncommon at all times, but one does not often perceive any attempt by an English actor to force the soul a bit, to reach out beyond the already seen, the accepted, the frequently and safely admired. The serious and gifted young American actor today sometimes tries too hard and often mistakes what is merely strenuous for profound emotion. The English actor hardly ever tries for anything more than *accomplishment*. His sights are set on smooth technique, acting for its own sake. Life is used rather than made. Theater is not fashioned from reality but from theater itself. Reality—and realism—is arrived at artificially. This is impressive as discipline; it is not fulfilling as creation.

Where there is anarchy, the organization furnished by an "academy" is advantageous. But academicism—even of sound caliber—may end as a confining force by drawing too sharp a limit on growth. I began to suspect on my recent visit to London that the English actor and his director—who appears to serve

the actor with polite dispatch without offering sufficient leadership—need to be surprised, shocked, or blasted into new discoveries of themselves as persons and of the world as greater than the world contained within the traditional theater.

Record Notes

BY ROBERT E. GARIS

Bach: Christmas Oratorio; Weber, Fischer, Marten, Gunther with orchestra and choir of the Detmold Academy of Music under Thomas (London-L'Oiseau Lyre); good performance.

Trio Sonata in G Major for flute, violin, and harpsichord; Sonata in E Minor for flute and harpsichord; Sonata in G Major for violin and harpsichord; Trio in D Minor for flute, oboe, and harpsichord; The Collegium Pro Arte (London-L'Oiseau-Lyre); uninteresting music in routine performances.

Beethoven: Concerto No. 5 for piano and orchestra ("Emperor"); Backhaus with Vienna Philharmonic under Krauss (London); except for a rather wooden slow movement, a fine performance; string sound very dry.

Sonatas in C Minor and G Major, Op. 30, Nos. 2 & 3; Casadesu and Francescatti (Columbia); efficient in the fast movements, inflated in the slow.

Symphony No. 6 ("Pastoral"); Kleiber with Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam (London); excessively placid performance with beautiful orchestral playing.

Borodin: Polovtsian Dances from "Prince Igor"; In the Steppes of Central Asia; Mitropoulos with New York Philharmonic (Columbia); effective performances. (With Ippolitov-Ivanov's "Caucasian Sketches.")

Brahms: Alto Rhapsody; Ferrier with London Symphony Orchestra under Krauss (London); solemnly opulent singing which may seem right to admirers of the music. (With four Brahms songs.)

Concerto No. 1 for piano and orchestra; Backhaus with Vienna Philharmonic under Böhm (London); Curzon with Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam under van Beinum (London); Serkin with Cleveland Orchestra under Szell (Columbia); Backhaus's performance placidly correct; Curzon's very fine

and well recorded except for slightly dry string tone; Serkin's assertive and violent, the piano sound glassy and the orchestral sound reverberant.

Quintet for clarinet and strings, Op. 115; Boskovsky with members of the Vienna Octet (London); refined performance, occasionally sugary.

Trio No. 1 in B Major, Op. 8; Stern, Casals, Hess (Columbia); Trio di Trieste (London); the Trieste performance fine, the Casals much more powerful and equally sensitive.

Hindemith: Symphony, "Mathis der Maler"; Ormandy with Philadelphia Orchestra (Columbia); acceptably luxurious performance; recording reverberant. (With Concert Music for strings and brass, Op. 50, a heavy piece of Hindemith rhetoric.)

Mozart: Concerto No. 1 for flute and orchestra, K. 313; Barwahser with Vienna Symphony under Pritchard (Epic); Glass with South German Chamber Orchestra under Reinhardt (Telefunken); Concerto No. 2 for flute and orchestra, K. 314; Barwahser with Vienna Symphony under Pritchard (Epic); Barwahser less steady technically and musically than Glass and his playing is badly over-recorded.

Concerto for flute, harp and orchestra, K. 299; Glass and Stein with South German Chamber Orchestra under Reinhardt (Telefunken); good performance.

Schumann: Concerto for cello and orchestra; Gendron with L'Orchestre de la Suisse Romande under Ansermet (London); fine performance. (With Tchaikovsky's Variations on a Rococo Theme, Op. 33.)

Symphony No. 2; Szell with Cleveland Orchestra (Columbia); tense performance, dry, shrill recording.

Fünf Stücke im Volkston for cello and piano; Casals and Mannes (Columbia); superb performances of engaging music.

Trio No. 1 in D Minor; Op. 63; Schneider, Casals, Horszowski (Columbia); superb performance.

Wagner: "Lohengrin"; Steber, Varnay, Windgassen with Bayreuth Festival Chorus and Orchestra under Keilberth (London); Steber superb, Varnay and Windgassen poor, ensemble excellent.

B. H. HAGGIN is on vacation. His regular column will appear next week.

Letters

(Continued from inside front cover)

that is typical of current proposals which penetrate "no deeper than the superficial symptoms." Mr. Barron's use of the phrase, "can be combated swiftly and economically," indicates that he has relied on a news story based on an article, Activity for all Children, which appeared in the April *Journal* of the association, rather than the article itself. The article dealt only in part with the problem of delinquency. It was chiefly concerned with the evidence that American children are getting insufficient exercise for normal growth and development. In the context of the article this key sentence takes on quite a different meaning from that the news story gave it: "The Association maintains that the best and most economical way to counteract the demoralizing and debilitating forces at work today on the children and youth is to provide a rich and varied program of physical education and recreation for all the children in our schools, so that each within the limits of his native endowment can grow into a physically vigorous and emotionally balanced adult with many skills and hobbies for his leisure."

The official spokesman of the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, as well as a majority of its 20,000 members, are fully aware that a social phenomenon like delinquency is as complex as the society in which it appears.

CARL A. TROESTER, JR.

Executive Secretary, American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation.

Washington, D. C.

Author's Rejoinder

Dear Sirs: Mr. Troester's remarks do not really meet my criticism. In my opinion the "key sentence" which he quotes from Activity for all Children clearly indicates that the association, despite its important role and contribution, advocates a panacea on a superficial level for delinquency as well as for the other complex problems of children and youth in American society.

London

MILTON L. BARRON

Solved at One Swoop

Dear Sirs: I have a simple suggestion to settle the commotion in the South arising from the recent Supreme Court decision abolishing segregation in schools: Let teachers and pupils wear black glasses in the school, so they can't tell differences in color. This might also be done outside school, thus solving at one swoop the whole color problem.

Brooklyn, N. Y. ARMAND LOWINGER

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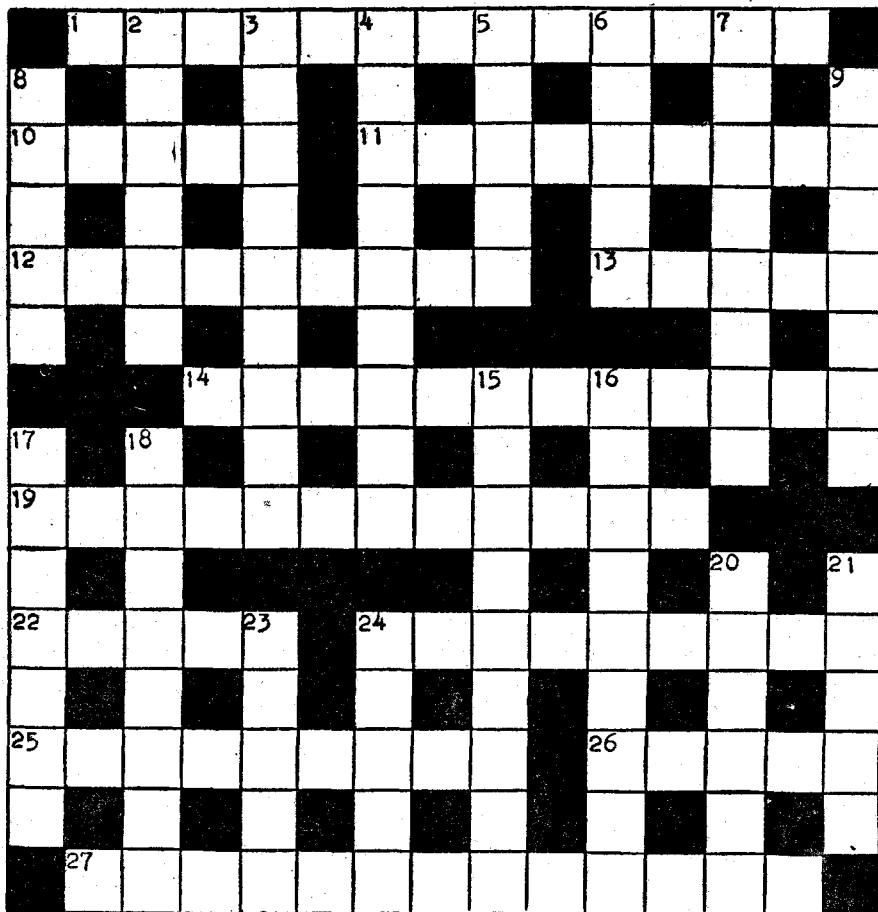
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Crossword Puzzle No. 580

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1, 20 down, 25 across. Why sanitation is turned into a saint? (11, 2, 4, 2, 9)
- 10 Proving soup is most relative. (5)
- 11 See 4 down.
- 12 Arab run-aways? (9)
- 13 The clear pale liquid of the ebbing Rumanian river? (5)
- 14 And these might have been Rumanian at one time. (12)
- 19 What they do to get diamond experts in Brooklyn? (They should be good at ducking blows!) (5-7)
- 22 You run away with it in construction. (1, 4)
- 24 They use a rather low expression of humor, which is partly suppressed. (9)
- 25 See 1 across.
- 26 Fall advertisement for the series. (5)
- 27 Do come in and lay down inside! (13)

DOWN

- 2 The founder of Taoism is not quite so late. (3-3)
- 3 People who do should buy their own homes. (9)
- 4 and 11 across. Mail-ed? (7, 2, 3, 6)
- 5 Must be born, to a degree. (5)
- 6 "I have no spur to prick the _____ of my intent." (Macbeth) (5)

- 7 Doctoral, yet not quite full-fledged? (8)
- 8 "Home, Sweet Home" is not exactly a sea-chanty! (5)
- 9 William Bryant spoke of life's bright one. (7)
- 15 They don't imply conservatives can't be wrong! (9)
- 16 Slightly longer than night's candles, according to Romeo. (6, 3)
- 17 One who tries to notice? (7)
- 18 Usually seen with a kit, when complete. (8)
- 20 See 1 across.
- 21 A singular form of 6. (5)
- 23 You might find it on a West Indian tribe. (5)
- 24 Piute way of causing travelers trouble. (3-2)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 579

ACROSS:—9 CAMPBELL; 10 MISUSE; 11 GLOTTIS; 12 PORTEND; 15 GATE-LEGS; 17 FINE-SPUN; 20 RAZORS; 22 WARPATH; 24 UPRaise; 26 QUINCE; 27 PROMOTER; 28 PASSING FAIR.

DOWN:—2 REPUTABLE; 3 VEERING; 4 CULL; 5 TIME OUT; 6 UPSET; 7 TABLES; 8, 14 and 18 AS SNUG AS A BUG IN A RUG; 13 and 1 AGENT PROVOCATEUR; 16 LAZZARONI; 19 PUTTERS; 20 REPROOF; 21 RUSHES; 23 PANDA; 25 SPAN.

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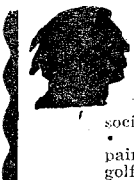
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